

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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R 011002Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7416
INFO USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 6432

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: JA CH SU PFOR
SUBJECT: JAPANESE VISITORS TO PEKING: A THREE-CORNERED EXERCISE

REF: PEKING 840

SUMMARY: RECENT INCREASE IN JAPANESE VISITORS TO PEKING
NOTED REFTEL SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN CONTEXT OF TOKYO-
PEKING-MOSCOW TRIANGLE. BOTH JAPANESE AND CHINESE APPEAR
INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING IMPRESSION, IF NOT SUBSTANCE, OF
EXPANDING TIES. END SUMMARY.

1. OF RECENT VISITORS TO PRC, FORMER VICE FONMIN SHINSAKU
HOGEN (WHO WILL BE IN PRC APRIL 28-MAY 6) HAS ATTRACTED
MOST ATTENTION IN JAPANESE PRESS. VETERAN DIPLOMAT AND CURRENT
HEAD OF JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY, HOGEN IS WELL-
KNOWN FOR HIS STRONG ANTIPATHY TOWARDS SOVIETS (RECENT
MAINICHI HEADLINED HIS CRITICISM OF SOVIET ATTEMPTS
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TO "FINLANDIZE" JAPAN) AND HIS FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS
CHINA. HOGEN IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH LDP SEC GEN OHIRA,
ALSO KNOWN FOR HIS SUPPORT OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH PRC.

2. NOT SURPRISINGLY, TOKYO PRESS HAS SPECULATED THAT HOGEN
WOULD ACT AS "SPECIAL ENVOY" OF FUKUDA GOVERNMENT TO REVITALIZE
PFT NEGOTIATIONS AND POSSIBLY LAY GROUND WORK FOR VISIT TO

PEKING BY OHIRA. ADDITIONALLY, MAINICHI HAS SUGGESTED THAT DEPENDING ON HOGEN'S FINDINGS, PM FUKUDA WOULD SEND FONMIN HATOYAMA TO PEKING IN JUNE TO DISCUSS PFT AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

3. BOTH FONOFF AND HOGEN HAVE CAREFULLY DENIED THAT HE HAS ANY SPECIAL MISSION IN PEKING (ACCORDING TO HIS SON, HOGEN HAS DESCRIBED HIMSELF IN PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS AS "JUST ANOTHER TOURIST.") FONOFF CHINA DEPDIR IKEDA STATED TO EMBOFF THAT HOGEN WAS NOT CARRYING ANY NEW JAPANESE NEGOTIATING POSITION ON PFT. HE DID ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT HOGEN'S ACCEPTANCE AT THIS TIME OF OUTSTANDING CHINESE INVITATION HAD BEEN CLEARED AT "HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVEL" AND FURTHER, THAT GOJ EXPECTED HOGEN'S CONVERSATIONS IN PEKING WOULD PROVIDE "USEFUL INDICATIONS" OF CHINESE ATTITUDES AND INTENTIONS ON PFT.

4. FOR THEIR PART, CHINESE HAVE APPARENTLY ASSURED HOGEN OF WARM AND FRIENDLY RECEPTION. LOCAL PRC CHARGE REPORTEDLY INFORMED HOGEN THAT IN CHINESE EYES, HE WAS ONE OF ONLY THREE JAPANESE "WHO TRULY UNDERSTAND SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS" (OTHER TWO WERE INAYAMA OF JAPAN-CHINA TRADE ASSOCIATION AND HYUGA, CHAIRMAN OF SUMITOMO IRON AND STEEL).

5. LOWER HOUSE SPEAKER SHIGERU HORI, TOO, IS WIDELY EXPECTED TO VISIT CHINA IN EARLY JUNE AFTER CLOSE OF CURRENT DIET SESSION. A LATE CHINA DISCOVERER, HORI BELIEVES DEEPLY THAT IMPROVED JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS ARE GENERAL WEDGE AGAINST SINO-SOVIET RAPPROACHMENT.

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6. FROM CHINESE SIDE, FOREIGN TRADE VICE MINISTER CHAI SHU-FAN IS NOW IN JAPAN, OSTENSIBLY TO PARTICIPATE IN CHINESE EXHIBITION IN NAGOYA. HE IS ALSO EXPECTED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL TRADE ACCORD, AGREED TO IN PRINCIPLE DURING RECENT DOKO MISSION TO PRC. CHAI IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH VARIOUS GOJ OFFICIALS, INCLUDING MITI MINISTER.

7. FONOFF OFFICIALS SUCH AS IKEDA ASSERT THAT GOJ IS ATTEMPTING TO KEEP SEPARATE SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS FROM PRESENT DIFFICULTIES WITH SOVIET UNION AND DENY THAT INCREASED FLOW OF JAPANESE VISITORS TO PEKING REPRESENTS ATTEMPT TO APPLY PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON SOVIETS. IMPROVED ATMOSPHERICS BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING, HOWEVER, HAVE NOT ESCAPED ATTENTION OF LOCAL SOVIETS. AMBASSADOR POLYANSKY ARRANGED THROUGH EAST

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 6432

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GERMANY EMBASSY SECRET MEETING ON MARCH 13 WITH INAYAMA WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN PROMOTING LONG-TERM SINO-JAPANESE TRADE AGREEMENT. AS REPORTED BACK TO FONOFF, POLYANSKY STRESSED THAT JAPAN SHOULD NOT SIGN ANY ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE AND NOTED THAT SHOULD JAPAN NOT AGREE TO SUCH CHINESE DEMANDS, SOVIETS WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE IRON AND STEEL PURCHASES FROM JAPAN. INAYAMA WAS REPORTEDLY IMPRESSED BY POLYANSKY'S "SINCERITY" BUT ON WHOLE FOUND SOVIET CARROT-DANGLING "CHILDISHLY CRUDE".

8. JAPANESE PRESS HAS ALSO PICKED UP ON RELATIVELY NEW EMPHASIS ON MILITARY AFFAIRS IN SINO-JAPANESE EXCHANGES NOTED REFTEL. IN PAST DAYS, PRESS HAS LEARNED FROM FONOFF SOURCES OF "UNPRECEDENTED" VISIT TO CHINA IN APRIL OF JDA OFFICIAL HISAO IWASHIMA, HEAD OF DEFENSE COLLEGE HISTORICAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT. ASAHI REPORTED THAT GROUP OF JAPANESE NAVAL SPECIALISTS, CONSISTING OF RETIRED SENIOR OFFICERS, WOULD VISIT PRC THIS MONTH "REFLECTING CHINESE CONCERN OVER SPEC-
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TACULAR GROWTH OF SOVIET PACIFIC FLEET." PRESS HAS NOTED CHINESE "ENTHUSIASM" FOR SUCH EXCHANGES AND EVEN REPORTED THAT PRC HAD SUGGESTED JAPANESE MSDF TRAINING SHIPS INCLUDE PORT CALLS IN CHINA. (CHINESE APPARENTLY INTIMATED TO JAPANESE LAST YEAR THAT

REQUESTS FOR SUCH PORT-CALLS WOULD BE FAVORABLY ENTERTAINED;
UNTIL NOW, HOWEVER, JDA HAD KEPT THIS UNDER WRAPS).

9. COMMENT. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFFS, FONOFF
OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THAT IT WOULD NOT BE IN
JAPANESE INTERESTS TO ALTER DRASTICALLY ROUGH BALANCE
IN JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS AND CHINESE BY MOVING
TOO FAR TOWARDS CHINESE SIDE. THEY FURTHER ASSERT THAT
PRESENT TIME IS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR JAPANESE CONCESSIONS
ON ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN PFT. THEY ARE, HOWEVER,
SOMEWHAT DISINGENUOUS IN DENYING ANY LINKAGE BETWEEN
CURRENT MOSCOW-TOKYO CHILL AND RELATIVE WARMTH OF
CONTACTS WITH PEKING. FREQUENCY AND NATURE OF JAPANESE
VISITS, SOME OF WHICH CLEARLY REQUIRE HIGH LEVEL
POLITICAL CLEARANCE, COUPLED WITH INCREASED
PRESS PLAY HIGHLIGHTING SINO-JAPANESE COMMON INTERESTS
REPRESENTS JAPANESE "FEINT" TOWARDS PEKING. FONOFF
APPEARS WILLING TO CONVEY IMPRESSION AT LEAST OF
MOVEMENT, BUT HAS THUS FAR REFRAINED FROM SUBSTANTIVE
POLITICAL ACTION.

10. POLITICIANS, HOWEVER, MAY DIFFER WITH FONOFF ON
DEGREE TO WHICH THIS "FEINT" MIGHT BE FOLLOWED THROUGH.
AGAINST BACKGROUND OF INTENSE ANTI-SOVIET POPULAR
SENTIMENT, CONCLUSION OF SINO-JAPANESE PFT MAY APPEAR
INCREASINGLY ATTRACTIVE TO BELEAGUERED LDP STRATEGISTS
SUCH AS CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY SONODA, WHO ALREADY HAS
HISTORY OF DISAGREEMENT WITH FONOFF'S RESTRAINT IN
DEALING WITH CHINA. IN ADDITION, CLOSE AIDE TO PRIMIN
FUKUDA HAS STATED FLATLY THAT, FOR ELECTION REASONS,
LDP HOPES TO CONCLUDE PFT BEFORE JULY. THUS, DESIRES
OF POLICY PLANNERS TO CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING,
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POLITICIANS FACING TOUGH ELECTION DESIRE AGREEMENT.
BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
ANTI-HEGEMONY FORMULA CAN BE FOUND. SHOESMITH

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